

AMERICA

The Constitution Is at Fault

JEROME G. KERWIN

With Comments By:

Moorhouse F. X. Millar

William R. Frasca

Robert C. Hartnett

Clarence J. Ryan

Put That Pistol Down

BENJAMIN L. MASSE



Lithuania Can Only Dream Peter P. Cinikas

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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Call for Sacrifice. The President's proclamation of February 6 has declared a new war, war against starvation in Europe. The Emergency Economic Committee for Europe has released a detailed study, which shows that 240 million people of that continent will have to live for the rest of the winter months on a diet notably below that necessary for minimum health and efficiency. Simultaneously, Mr. Truman has instructed Government agencies on steps to conserve foods and make them available for export. These measures will work minor hardship on American tables, but these privations *can* be made (we are still the best fed nation in the world) and *must* be made, if a vast number of fellow humans are to be saved from famine. One may quibble over the best techniques of saving and shipping food to the starving; but it is not possible to cavil on the clear moral obligation of sacrifice to ward off mass starvation. The edge will be taken off the irksome privations if the sacrifice is made generously and in the spirit of Christ.

Brotherhood Week. The National Conference of Christians and Jews has designated February 17 to 24 as Brotherhood Week. The immediate inspiration for the observance is civic. The idea itself, however, is profoundly Christian. Catholics yield to none in their desire to see the ideals of Christian brotherhood prevail in civic life. They know how essential this is in the interests of the common good. The many social conflicts and divisions that there are today along racial, class and religious lines point up the necessity for complete loyalty to the demands of our Christian faith in the brotherhood of all men as made in the image of God. For Catholics who are citizens, the observance of Brotherhood Week will recall their high obligation always to be an effective force in fostering the spirit of this brotherhood in the civic community.

Where the Russian Issue Lies. When Britain's Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, crossed swords in his epochal verbal UNO duel with Russia's Vice Foreign Commissar, A. Y. Vyshinsky, it was not as a conservative battling with a champion of progress. It was as a *social progressive* that he contended with a hundred-per-cent totalitarian. On this side of the water the line of combat was drawn with great clearness in a letter printed in the *New Leader* for February 2, which Raymond Leslie Buell, editor and liberal-minded expert on foreign relations, wrote recently to the *Atlantic Monthly*. Mr. Buell, whose articles on Poland had been rejected by the *Atlantic*, complained (along with William H. Chamberlin) that the monthly had been presenting only the favorable side of the Russian picture. "The issue," wrote Dr. Buell, "is not between feudal capitalism and a Socialist utopia. The issue is between Social Democracy resting on a respect for human dignity, and totalitarian terrorism of whatever variety . . . whether the individual is to be arbitrarily sacrificed for the sake of so-called social engineering, or whether changes are to be made by agreement and humanitarian means."

Site for UNO. Protests in London, in Washington—and locally—were voiced by residents of the area recommended by Dr. Stoyan Gavrilovic's committee as a site for the United Nations Organization. Though they would be compensated, they objected to giving up their valuable residential homes, some of them dating from Colonial times. But if

the UNO is to come to the United States, and if it is to be located—with sufficient space for its many needs—near any of our great urban centers, it is hard to see how some such expropriation can be avoided. No such loud protests reached the papers when, for instance, the ten-mile-long Cedar Point area in Southern Maryland was vacated at the war's beginning for an immense U. S. naval airbase. Yet on many of the farms given over to the Navy the families of their owners and operators had resided for generations, and among them were some of the oldest and most famous estates in the original Maryland Colony. If the UNO is actually coming our way, as we have invited it to come, somehow we must pay the price, and some folks, somewhere, have to be made uncomfortable. Also, be it mentioned, the members of the UNO will need to learn not to imagine they are being murdered or the UNO sabotaged if international affairs are being frankly discussed by Americans talking in America close at hand. The General Assembly's judgment is doubtless correct: that if the UNO is not to seem something strange and remote to the American people, its deliberations must take place on our own territory. Nevertheless, this is a consideration that can work in many directions. It may well be that if the UNO survives its initial struggles, becomes known to us intimately and to all the world, it will yet find its way, to our satisfaction and to everyone else's, to the now desolate halls of Geneva.

Wages and Prices. For the past several weeks it has become increasingly clear that organized labor is not responsible for prolonging the strikes in the nation's basic indus-

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tries. That responsibility rests with the management of certain sections of Big Business. What keeps the men on the picket line at General Motors and in the steel industry is not a dispute between labor and management over wages, but a fight between management and the Government over prices. Two anti-inflation theories have clashed head on: the Government theory that price ceilings must be maintained until supply catches up with demand; and the Big Business theory, propagated by the National Association of Manufacturers, that price ceilings must be relaxed to encourage all-out production. Oddly enough, no one seems to question the fact that workers are entitled to "substantial wage increases" to neutralize the drastic cut in take-home pay which occurred in many defense industries since V-J Day. This circumstance adds an element of real tragedy to the present situation. Thousands of families have gone without wages for many weeks now because a dozen of our leading corporations refuse to grant reasonable wage increases until the Administration changes its policy on prices. As we go to press it appears that President Truman is preparing to compromise on prices. Since this will mean a rise in the cost of living, which will cruelly affect those living on fixed incomes, all parties to the dispute are maneuvering to see that the blame does not fall on them. Wherever the responsibility lies, it certainly does not rest on organized labor. Its wage demands were encouraged by the Government; and every time an impasse was reached, labor leaders accepted the suggested compromise.

Housing Crisis. In a radio address on February 3, Edmond Borgia Butler, chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, presented a detailed survey of the city's critical shortage of dwelling units. The facts are interesting because they are illustrative of the housing crisis that prevails throughout the nation. New York City, notes Mr. Butler, needs 780,000 new apartments. Of this total, 187,000 are required for families of all income groups for whom no housing has been built since 1941. An additional 457,000 units are needed to replace existing outdated tenements. Another 145,500 units are necessary to replace substandard apartments, not actually in tenements, renting for less than \$25 a month. For low-income families the Housing Authority has built 17,000 apartments, and plans 60,000 more within four years. It is not the object of the Housing Authority, in attempting to fill the needs of the low-income groups, to replace private initiative. Mr. Butler declared:

The vast majority of the re-housing and new construction in New York City must and should be done by private enterprise. . . . We can keep the construction industry in New York City busy for years to come, and this in itself is a substantial contribution to the prosperity of the city and the nation.

One part of the address should be pondered by all who face the above facts but are not clear on the function and scope of public housing:

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Public housing must stop where private enterprise can assume the burden. We are not advocating and never have advocated that all of the deteriorated housing in New York City should be replaced by public housing. But we cannot, and no one can, support the principle that people whose income is so low that private enterprise cannot build for them must be condemned to live in slums.

Share the Profits. Contending that "the way to save the capitalistic system is to increase to a clear majority the number of Americans who can honestly call themselves capitalists," Representative Clare Boothe Luce, of Connecticut, introduced a resolution on January 14 calling upon the House to complete the Senate study of profit-sharing systems conducted during the Seventy-Fifth Congress. Mrs. Luce argued that "a disastrous economic and moral error" is common alike to capitalist and collectivist states. In both systems human labor is bought and sold as a commodity, the price depending in capitalist states on the law of supply and demand in the labor market, in the collectivist states on the arbitrary will of bureaucrats. The way to correct this error, Mrs. Luce told the House, "is to establish clearly and finally the principle that the workingman is at all times and in all circumstances entitled to participate at two levels in the wealth of the community which his labor creates through production." These two levels she described as follows:

First, at a wage level and a wage rate which must be adequate to his human needs, and not posited on the inhuman fluctuations of labor supply and demand; and second, at a profit level and a profit rate which should be a fixed percentage of the profits of the industry or business for which he works.

The House has a good many things on its mind these days, including proposed labor legislation. In the rush of business, Mrs. Luce's constructive resolution should not be overlooked.

Ships for Food. The threat of famine in India, with 100 million people depending on increased imports to ward off starvation, the critical shortage in grains here which is causing Secretary of Agriculture Anderson no little worry, the glut of our poultry market, with cold-storage chickens at double their pre-war level, while at the same time starvation levels in rations are all we have been able to achieve in occupied Europe—all emphasize the world problem of food quantities and the correlated problem of distributing what there is. Simultaneously, against this gloomy background, the United Maritime Authority meets in London to determine what will be done with the United Nations' shipping pool after the present agreement expires on March 2. This Authority, despite political pitfalls, functioned admirably during the war. Eighteen nations' shipping was allotted by the central agency, and with no consideration for future markets, national competition or prestige, resources were pooled for the impartial task of winning the war and supplying the shipping necessary for the then available relief. Unless the procedure is continued after March 2, nations will plunge into the scramble for commercial gain, and relief shipping, so desperately needed, will be diverted to the race for profit. The Bland bill, now before Congress, which would prohibit American ships to be chartered by foreign nations, and provides that they can be disposed of only by sale, would result in the scrapping of American tonnage and the consequent disruption of relief shipping. The American delegation to the United Maritime Authority's conference is known to favor extending the working agreement beyond

March 2. It is time for the State Department and Congress to get together and forge a consistent policy in the matter of relief and the means for supplying it. In this instance of our foreign policy—and relief is an aspect of foreign policy as well as a humane operation—there is too much of the impression of pull devil, pull baker, with the starving people of the world bewilderedly watching the tug-of-war and wondering if that's all democracy can accomplish.

Reading Need Filled. A gap that has long existed in the field of Catholic publishing has at last been plugged. The plug was hammered in last October, and the intervening four months have tested and proved its worthwhileness. The gap was the lack of a Catholic magazine for youth that would be of a caliber to compete with secular counterparts; the

plug is *Catholic Youth*, published monthly by the energetic Catechetical Guild. There are, it is true, other magazines for Catholic youth, but this venture, it seems to us, is broader in interest, more appealingly modern and less heavily weighted with obvious catechetics. Of particular interest is the fact that its young readers are urged to write for it; the samples of their writings that have thus far appeared are surprisingly good. Parents have here a partial answer, at least, to the often vexing problem of their children's casual reading. Instead of mere negative condemnation of the "comic" books, here is something actually being done about supplanting them. The young magazine for youth has our hearty congratulations and a prayer for its growth in excellence and influence. Parents may want to know that they can inquire about it at 128 East Tenth St., St. Paul, Minn.

WASHINGTON FRONT

STRANGELY ENOUGH, the first turbulent sessions of the Security Council of UNO, with their dramatic clashes between Foreign Secretary Bevin and Vice-Commissar Vyshinsky, brought a vast amount of relief to Washington's official circles. Yet this was logical enough. For months the official mind had been weighed down with the realization that American-Russian relations were very bad indeed. Now suddenly the pressure was off, and Washington breathed easily again.

The revelation that—at least as far as Europe is concerned—the fundamental clash is in the Eastern Mediterranean and is between Britain and Russia, both clarified and eased the situation from the American point of view and made the future clearer.

There will remain, of course, various minor points of friction between ourselves and Russia in Europe which negotiations can clear up, but our role there has been, for the moment at least, restored to the place where it was for a time under Roosevelt—the role of mediator between Britain and Russia, without the necessity of committing ourselves to one or the other.

We should not, however, fail to take into account two powerful spiritual forces which will never allow our relations with Russia to be intimate: our sympathy and pity for oppressed peoples under the Russian yoke, and our constant desire that peoples everywhere accept a true democracy and throw off the shackles of every kind of totalitarianism. But it cannot be foreseen how either of these two noble feelings can actually bring us to the point of an armed clash with the Soviet Union.

Those who direct our foreign policy will obviously have to walk more warily than ever. The role of a mediator is not always a comfortable one, especially when one of the disputants is a traditional friend and the other always a potential enemy. We shall have to see that having escaped one peril—a clash with Russia—we do not slip into another—an estrangement from Britain, which is an eventuality that could well happen.

Meanwhile, of course, we shall still have our difficulties in the Far East. Korea, northern China and Manchuria, the islands of Oceania. All or any one of these might be a source of serious disagreement with Russia, for there the clash is neither ideological nor humanitarian, but one of conflicting concepts of national security, just as it is between Britain and Russia in the Eastern Mediterranean. It would be strange and complicated if Britain had in turn to assume the role of mediator there.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

TWO CURRENT ITEMS of news fit into the February celebration of Catholic Press Month. One is the announcement by Rev. Louis A. Gales, director of the Catechetical Guild Education Society, of a year's full-tuition scholarship in the Marquette University College of Journalism, to the student who displays in his work in 1946 the best aptitude for a journalistic career. The other news item reports an appeal made by James A. Shanahan, executive secretary of the Catholic Press Association, for the establishment of prize awards, equivalent to the Pulitzer Prizes, to stimulate and encourage enterprising writers and newspapers in the Catholic press field. No doubt the suggestion will get a hearing when the C.P.A. holds its annual meeting in Boston, under the patronage of Archbishop Cushing, on May 23, 24 and 25.

► The Inter-Allied Control Council in Berlin has turned its interim directive regarding religious education into a decree. It guarantees the right of the German people themselves to decide whether they wish their children to receive religious instruction. The decree, which applies to all the occupation zones, specifies that parochial schools may be opened at the request of parents if the request is made two months prior to the beginning of a school term and if at least twenty pupils are concerned.

► Pietro Cardinal Boetto, Archbishop of Genoa, who died on January 31, was created a Cardinal in 1935, and three years later was named Archbishop of Genoa. Prior to his elevation, he had been Jesuit Provincial of Rome and Italian Assistant to the Jesuit General, the late Wladimir Ledóchowski. News accounts of his death deservedly emphasized his great courage and charity as Archbishop of Genoa in the many crises of the war.

► *Osservatore Romano* has been meeting head-on the many attacks by the Soviet radio and press on the Vatican and on the Holy Father. Scarcely a Soviet misrepresentation goes unanswered. And the press in the United States is reporting the answers. Latest *Osservatore* plain-speaking rebuts the assertion of Radio Warsaw that "during the six years of unparalleled martyrdom the Polish nation has waited in vain" for the Pope to deplore its fate. "Read the pronouncements of September 30, 1939; read those of July 20, September 15 and November 15, 1944," replies the *Osservatore*. "And here is what the Holy Father said. . . ." "Do you not also know about the repeated personal protests which the Holy Father made, through every possible channel, against the outrages inflicted during the war upon the Polish people?"

A. P. F.

THE CONSTITUTION IS AT FAULT

JEROME G. KERWIN

PEOPLE DO NOT always learn from experience. At least, they fail to see the significance of the experience through which they are passing. On January 3, President Truman addressed the American people on the state of the Union, giving special attention to the state of the national legislature. Putting aside for the moment the specific economic and social questions which he treated, and considering the tone and general outline of the address, the student of American government shook his head and said: "How familiar this all seems." The repeated, if not tiresome, struggle between executive and legislature is on again. When it is not on, we say either that there is a honeymoon or that Congress is a rubber stamp. When it flares up, we say that the President lacks force and leadership. At odd moments when a President shows leadership he becomes a czar, a king or a dictator in the eyes of multitudes of the people.

There is obviously something wrong with a system which, in every four-year period, affords but a hundred days of governmental cooperation, offset by thirteen hundred days of internal governmental strife. The hundred days of peace are bought by either the hope for or the grant of executive patronage. The price of the limited period of peace is spoils, pelf, privilege and patronage. All is quiet while the political animal is feeding at the public trough. This is what the check-and-balance system of the Founding Fathers has been reduced to.

Political historians tell us that every President loses his Congress (even if it is of his own party) somewhere in the middle of his first term. From that time on, the Congress and the Executive run along a narrow and circuitous highway, getting in each other's way periodically, and both headed for the next election. There is neither system nor sanity in the process. Strong Presidents wear out their physical and mental powers in the strife; weak Presidents go down in a welter of confusion.

Let us take the sad case of Mr. Truman *vs.* the Seventy-Ninth Congress. Unquestionably there is little difference among rational men on a great part of the program he has presented to Congress. Fundamentally there is room for improvement and clarification, but these processes should not lay a crushing burden upon the mental powers or patience of Congressmen. While the country goes from strife to strife and uncertainty to uncertainty, giving a sterling example to the world of irresponsibility and disunity, the Congress blocks, opposes, investigates (it loves an investigation) and works itself into furious frenzy over supposed insults to its dignity and non-existent dangers to the country. The President has simply asked that Congress act. The result—Congress is deeply insulted.

Were the present situation one of infrequent occurrence, all of us might calmly decide as good citizens what to do in a difficult situation where personalities clash and compromises have been found futile. This kind of executive-legislative conflict has, however, been with us for a long time and is increasingly becoming a grave danger to our whole political and social system. In times of internal and international peace and stability we can perhaps afford obstruction to the formation of policy, however silly such a process may be, but in crisis periods the price of inaction and internal governmental strife is the breakdown and disorganization of the social order.

Times without number during the war, President Roosevelt asked that Congress prepare in advance for the postwar crisis, and he indicated the ways in which it might prepare. Along a few lines Congress took action but, far from preparing any general, coordinated plan for the postwar years, it destroyed in a fit of jealousy the National Resources Planning Board, the only agency in existence that was prepared through intelligence and experience to formulate a plan. The party system has not helped, but has hindered constructive action. The majority party has been saddled with the incubus of a powerful, intransigent, reactionary minority from the South that blocks all progress, while the minority party has been led by a backward-looking leadership that regards the creation of confusion, or at most purely negative opposition, as its primary function.

The main difficulty, however, lies in a system that puts a President in office on a specified platform and gives him few workable powers to carry it out. According to the theory of our system, he is supposed to be checked by Congress from over-reaching himself or violating the principles of the democratic order. Along with the checking process, however, there is supposed to be the concomitant process of cooperation. At present the Executive gets some cooperation through buying off the Representatives—an ancient but a dubious system. Partial reform may bring a partial remedy. We might allow the appearance of the President and his Cabinet officers before either House to defend measures and answer questions; the forming of joint legislative-executive committees to prepare legislation; internal reform in the committee system of both Houses and in the method of selecting committee chairmen; the abolition of the practice of filibuster in the Senate. All of these measures would eliminate some of the more grotesque abuses in the Federal Government. Up to this point, however, Congress has either been unable or unwilling to reform itself.

Ignorance, apathy or respect for the age of an institution makes constitutional change difficult. Furthermore, many students of government hesitate to recommend a major operation on the central organism of government for fear they will get more than they ask for. With the experience of forty-eight States before them, where constitutions have grown in length beyond all reason, due to frequent general overhauling, they have feared to recommend any major revision in our fundamental Federal law. They assume that such major revision might come through the calling of a national convention, which might conceivably proceed to tear the whole fundamental law apart. Fears of what might be, however, should not prevent a remedy for a grave need. Our government of block and tackle creates grave dangers to our democratic constitutional system. When problems are not met, when solutions are not applied to economic and social ills in a time of crisis, we face certain disaster. The good old days of leisurely debate and deliberation, when the thrilling game of political partisanship could be played without fear of grave consequences, are not present. An atomic age requires responsible political behavior.

What constitutional reform is needed? The President of the United States must be in a position to say to his Congress when the latter vetoes or withholds action on his urgently recommended measures: "Let us go at once to the people to decide this matter. The present Congress is declared dissolved. New elections will be held. If, when the newly elected Congress meets, it is of the same mind as this Congress, I shall either accept the popular verdict by following the path chosen for you by the people, or I shall resign to make way for another executive." If Congressmen faced the threat of a new election for obstreperous action or

inaction, they would be slow to follow either. This article does not provide the details of the change which such a reform would require. It merely indicates the case for the change.

The hour is late. The need for reform admits of no delay. The challenge to our common sense, our spirit of democracy, and our adaptability to ordered change is greater than at any other time in our history.

[Since Professor Kerwin's proposal is of a controversial nature, and recommends a step that requires much consideration and discussion, AMERICA has invited a number of students of social and political science to give their views on the subject. More comments may be published later.—EDITOR]

EDITOR: I think that on general principles Professor Kerwin's suggestion is correct: that the President should have the power to dissolve Congress and appeal to the people; for in our system the President is the only representative of the nation considered as a whole. His, in particular, is the function of providing for the maintenance and promotion of the common welfare of the Union. This being the case, he should have some means of sanctioning measures which he deems necessary for the common interests of the people of the United States. If adopted, such a method of procedure should have a very salutary educational effect on the "people," in that it would make them very much more conscious of national affairs. It should tend in the long run to eliminate such democratic anomalies as pressure groups and boss rule.

But the problem goes very much deeper than Professor Kerwin seems to contemplate. If what he advocates is to succeed, the American people will have to be re-educated as to the proper functions of a Representative; which means, as Burke pointed out, that "if the local constituents should have an interest, or should form a hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far as any other from any endeavor to give it effect." What the Representative owes his constituents is judgment arrived at in "a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole." Professor Kerwin's suggested reform should tend to foster saner practice along those lines.

MOORHOUSE F. X. MILLAR, S.J.

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EDITOR: That an impasse in government frequently is reached due to the failure of Congress to act on Presidential proposals or to substitute any policies of its own has led many to conclude that there is an inherent deficiency in our constitutional forms and that such antagonisms, magically, will evaporate if we suddenly change over to institutions which, for us, would be altogether new.

Laying aside such considerations as the inevitable confusion which for a time would result and the concrete evidence that the British system has not been notorious for its success except in British hands, do the facts in our own case warrant even the hope that such antagonisms would disappear through recourse to what Dr. Kerwin proposes?

In combination with the "purely negative approach" of the opposition, the powerful, obstructionist Southern Democratic bloc has shown itself quite competent effectively to "hamstring" the recommendations of a President who, theo-

retically, is supposed to be the leader of the Democratic Party. Does anyone sincerely believe that if Congress were to be dissolved and elections held, these same Southern gentlemen or like-minded twins would not reappear? We may be sure they would, even though the country as a whole might sustain the policies for which the President stands. The British system depends upon two well disciplined parties—obviously absent in the 79th Congress.

Much of the current confusion could be overcome through a thorough overhauling of our outmoded Congressional organization and procedure. Since this would have to be done even if Dr. Kerwin's main thesis were to be adopted, why not exhaust these improvements first before contemplating fundamental change?

WILLIAM R. FRASCA

Professor of Government,
Fordham University

New York, N. Y.

EDITOR: The relations between Congress and the Executive need drastic improvement. Professor Kerwin believes our constitutional system of "checks" and "balances" is wholly to blame. He favors our transforming the system to bring it in line with the British. I believe that such a wholesale amendment: 1) would be next to impossible to put through, and 2) would not remedy the maladies that afflict us.

Thirteen States could block such a complete overhauling. Unless a Convention were called by two-thirds of the States, the very Congress Dr. Kerwin complains of would have to propose the amendments by a two-thirds vote. Hitherto it has taken about a generation to force major reforms—such as woman suffrage—upon a major party. The public has not been prepared. The process would be far too slow.

The trouble today is not so much with the system as with the men running it and the people who elect them. If you read the *Federalist*, you get the picture of a separation of powers designed to free each branch for the performance of its proper functions in a dynamic, forward-moving, political system. Jefferson played up the idea of "checks" far beyond anything the Founding Fathers intended. Until his ideas on government are dethroned, nothing much can be done.

The Jeffersonians also fomented sectionalism. The atrocious blundering of the Republicans after the Civil War created the Solid South. To make matters indescribably worse, political scientists have portrayed man as an inherently selfish animal, incapable of understanding and striving for the general welfare. Let our people adopt more available reforms first.

R. C. HARTNETT, S.J.

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Detroit, Mich.

EDITOR: Doctor Kerwin's plea for immediate constitutional reform vibrates with a passionate sincerity emulating the intensely urgent appeals being made by advocates of world federation. The entreaties in both instances are evidences of a healthy intellectual catharsis which has been induced by a stark realization of the significance of controlled atomic energy. It is a truism among students of political science that parts of our governmental machinery are obsolete. Altering our Constitution to meet pressing modern needs would indicate neither shallow volatility nor a disregard for the lofty ideals and herculean achievement of the Founding Fathers. In fact, we would be but following the path of wisdom which they blazed, by incorporating an adapted form of ministerial responsibility proposed by Doctor Kerwin along with such partial reforms as the abolition of the abused privilege of filibuster.

The assumption, however, that these changes, in themselves primarily structural, would automatically provide an open-sesame solution to the nation's serious economic and social problems, or would even guarantee responsible political behavior, is largely gratuitous. The piles upon which an enduring political edifice may be reconstructed must be sunk much deeper. American citizens must be adequately educated and consistently inspired to take an active, intelligent and unselfish part in political life. Hence, fundamental educational reforms antecedent to any major political changes are decidedly indicated. Would it be over-optimistic to hope that discussion stimulated by Doctor Kerwin's article will inaugurate this long over-due movement?

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Milwaukee, Wis.

PUT THAT PISTOL DOWN

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

SOME DAY HISTORIANS will record that, during the early weeks of one of the most critical years in the life of the Republic, the United States Senate was tied hand and foot by a filibuster. Whether this will assume in their eyes the importance it has in ours, only the future can tell. No one can say now whether or not the revolt of the South against the Fair Employment Practices bill will have a fatal effect on the unity of the country. No one can say whether it is just another obstacle—which in time will be removed—on the steep climb to democracy, or the end of the road.

It may well be that we have exaggerated the significance of events in Washington these past weeks. Perhaps the filibuster against FEPC is the last gasp of a dying culture. Perhaps we are exaggerating, too, the seriousness of the current strife between labor and management. Maybe that is only the final flare-up of an old, out-dated antagonism.

The historians of the future will know. For my part I think they will come to what would seem to people living today an almost fantastic conclusion. They will write that the most important event in the early weeks of 1946 was not the filibuster, or the strikes, or even industry's attack on price controls, but an almost unnoticed speech in the United States Senate. A speech by Mr. Tydings, of Maryland. A plea for world disarmament.

"Mr. President," the Senator said, borrowing time from the filibusterers, "the subject matter to which I shall address my remarks today I consider the most important that has ever come before this or any other government. . . . It begins to appear as if the nations of the earth are headed directly into World War III."

This was the startling proposition Mr. Tydings argued on the afternoon of January 28, and what he had to say was so moving and so true, and so intimately concerns the whole country, that I wish a copy of the speech might be printed and placed in the hands of every adult American. For the benefit of our readers, who may not have access to the complete text of the address, I shall offer a résumé here.

Mr. Tydings began by isolating four mistakes which he said led to World War II: a) the United States refused to join the League of Nations; b) none of the member States of the League really trusted it; c) as a result of the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference, we gave up supremacy on the sea without requiring similar sacrifices from others; d) we financed the armaments of other nations, directly or indirectly, through foreign loans.

With one exception, he contended, namely, our membership in the United Nations Organization, we are repeating these fatal mistakes.

There is a dangerous and ominous parallel between the present policies of the United States and of other nations, and the policies pursued during the past three decades. The world seems determined to repeat the same grave mistakes and follow the same straddling policies which recently brought all peoples to the brink of disaster.

The United States, said the Senator, has mastered the manufacture of the atomic bomb. Supreme in this newest field of warfare, as we were supreme on the seas in 1919, we are now proceeding to repeat the blunder made in the 1922 Washington Conference. Then we proposed the control of naval armament; now we propose the control of the manufacture, use and storage of the atomic bomb. "If successful in this enterprise," Mr. Tydings warned, "we will again embrace disarmament by example. And again we will be the only example."

Even if we were successful in persuading other nations to prohibit, and not merely to control, the use of the atomic bomb, we should not be advancing either our own security or the cause of world peace. By surrendering the one weapon which gives us superiority, we should be weakening ourselves relative to the other great Powers. They will maintain their navies and armies and air power. We shall not, because "this country is outstanding in the speed with which it turns away from war and preparedness and turns toward peace and prosperity."

The truth, the Senator explained, is still more somber. We shall not be content with tying our own hands; we shall at the same time strengthen the hands of the other great Powers. Having given up our superiority in the atomic bomb, we shall assist other Powers, by foreign loans, to build up their armed forces. Already the process has begun; we are even now repeating our folly after World War I, when the American people, without demanding adequate safeguards, bought \$14 billion worth of foreign bonds. The loan to Britain is only a beginning.

WHAT OF UNO?

If the UNO could do what it was founded to do, that is, preserve peace among nations and guarantee their security, the parallel with our experience after World War I would not hold true. We could go ahead then and lend money and promote world trade. But the UNO is no insurance against World War III:

When we contrast words with action, the UNO's purposes and principles with its initial objective of "controlling the atomic bomb," we are led into a field of unrivaled contradiction. On the one hand, we have the picture of all nations solemnly pledging their faith and support in the United Nations Organization as the instrument for settling international disputes without bloodshed, and at the same time retaining and even enlarging their wartime armaments.

The UNO is setting up machinery to control the atomic bomb. What then? Terrible wars, the Senator from Maryland warned his colleagues, can be fought without the atomic bomb. There are the rocket, the flying bomb, bacteriological warfare and all the other instruments of destruction which proved so devastating during the last war. And if another war breaks out, the atomic bomb will be used, all sacred agreements to the contrary notwithstanding. How much trust, then, do we have in the UNO? How much trust does Britain have, and Russia, and China? The answer is obvious.

It can be read in the feverish preparations of all the great nations today to assure their security *independently of the UNO*. We are repeating "the same vital error which laid the League of Nations low."

Either the nations intend to use only the UNO to settle their disputes, or they intend to settle them on the battlefield. It is imperative for the security of the United States and our future course of action that we know what the answer to this question is. And the Senator added:

There is only one way, Mr. President, that the good faith of the members of the UNO can be proved. There is only one way that the UNO and its member nations can show to the world that this time they really mean business.

What we must control, Mr. President, is not the atomic bomb, not the scientist who makes it, *but the ability to make war*.

There is no other method. There is only one road to peace and unless we take that road our institutions, our species, this planet itself, will not survive.

WORLD DISARMAMENT

That road is total world disarmament. Since the UNO as presently constituted cannot deal adequately with the question of disarmament, and since the time at our disposal is dangerously limited, the Senator would have the United States take the lead in testing the desire of the nations for peace. Whereupon he offered the following resolution:

That the President is authorized and requested to invite the governments of all nations to send representatives to a conference, which shall be charged with the single duty of entering into an understanding and agreement to achieve world disarmament on land, on sea, and in the air by January 1, 1950, except only for such actual occupying forces, with appropriate weapons, and for such agreed period of time as will be necessary to police the defeated and occupied nations as a result of the recent war, and except only for such armed forces and for such weapons as are to be placed exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, and except only for such limited forces and small arms as are needed to keep law and order within each country, and directly prohibiting the manufacture, storage and possession of all weapons, ammunition and munitions of war, and providing further for the international inspection force authorized and instructed to see that the terms of such world disarmament are rigidly adhered to and carried out, and thereafter maintained by all the countries of the earth.

THE STAKES

The voices of all mankind, Mr. Tydings pleaded, would support this proposition for world disarmament. The continuance of civilization itself is in the balance.

Let the United States, the impregnable fortress of freedom, the lover of peace, the hope of oppressed people the world over, take the lead in summoning all the nations of the earth to a world disarmament conference, and bring into reality the fervent hope, the earnest prayers and the longing of men through all the centuries for the untroubled security of a just, unbroken and enduring peace.

As I read this great speech, notable alike for its relentless logic and noble moral tone, I recalled a passage in the 1939 Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII:

Conclusions of peace which failed to attribute fundamental importance to disarmament, mutually accepted, organic and progressive both in letter and spirit, and failed to carry out this disarmament loyally, would

sooner or later reveal their inconsistency and lack of vitality.

The hour has come to test the vitality of the UNO and the sincerity of the nations toward peace. Either they want it badly enough to trust the UNO, or they don't. If they do, let us thank God from the bottom of our hearts. If they do not, we have no choice except to make as many atom bombs as we can and keep the United States as strong as possible. The only practical test of the world's desire for peace is the willingness of the nations to disarm; and the sooner that test comes the better.

This is the all-important fact which Mr. Tydings has isolated and spotlighted for the consideration of the world. On this or that point, the British loan, for instance, it is certainly possible to dispute him. But his central thesis stands as the great challenge of our times.

LITHUANIA CAN ONLY DREAM

PETER P. CINIKAS

AS FEBRUARY 16 rolls around for the twenty-eighth time since the creation of their independence, the harassed people of Lithuania, one of the three "forgotten nations of Europe," can only dream of the independence that was and might be, unless there should be a drastic change in the politics of Europe.

This year, refugee Lithuanians in every country of Europe will make a special memento for their country on that day, and steel themselves to resist any effort to return them to the present Lithuania, under the merciless occupation of the Soviet Union.

Every American of Lithuanian descent will commemorate February 16 in one way or another, while he keeps an ear to the ground for the slightest rumor or hope for the independence of the now "bloody land of amber."

THE FIGHT GOES ON

Just lately, Vytautas Arunas, special correspondent of *Draugas*, Lithuanian Catholic daily of Chicago, reported frantic calls from the secret radio of the Underground of Lithuania, begging for help and assuring the outside world that the war is still being waged for independence. Further, it has been reported that some 60,000 partisans, or guerrillas, are still hiding out in the dense forests of Lithuania, harassing the Soviet armies which police the Russian-occupied territories.

Every evening foraging parties visit the nearby cities to secure stores and to wreak vengeance upon "Lithuanians who have sold their souls" for a more comfortable mode of life, who have gone over to the "Russian sphere of influence" or have been given petty positions in the new governments being organized in the cities.

Many reports of new deportations to the various sections of Russia are still coming in. The clean-up before the elections is getting under way, and all the more influential citizens will be gone from their unhappy country before the February elections.

Vytautas Arunas, the afore-mentioned correspondent, now living in Europe, reports a pre-election campaign rally held in Vilna, the traditional capital of Lithuania, last January 9. The theatre of Vilna, filled to capacity, was the scene of a weird gathering. The chairman of the rally proposed that Stalin be chosen "real" chairman of the rally. An empty chair was placed under the huge picture of Stalin, and each

zealous candidate declaimed his panegyric to the empty chair.

All candidates proposed for the coming elections are Russian. The fifteenth candidate on the lists might be a Lithuanian. Such traitors as Paleckis and Gedvilas, the first to welcome the coming of the Soviets, are getting places on district election lists, and there is no mention of Lithuanians on the National Communist Party listing.

WAITING FOR WAR

According to reports coming out of Lithuania's Underground, the guerrillas, people in the cities and on farms, and the refugees in the various countries of Europe are even hoping for a war, or something as drastic, to bring them into open conflict with the Soviet Union, in the hope that this may bring them independence. Lithuanians all over Europe feel that the conditions cannot be changed unless the United States comes out openly and demands the freedom of Lithuania and the Baltic States. Much hope is placed in the United States, though the last Moscow Conference did not leave the people of Lithuania very much hope for the future.

Some 250,000 refugee Lithuanians are in the various countries of Europe, each living in fear that he may be sent back to Russian Lithuania. Many thousands are considering suicide as an alternative to returning. All would rather live as the destitutes of Europe than as inhabitants of Siberia upon their return to occupied Lithuania.

Thousands of America's Lithuanians are receiving letters from loved ones in Lithuania, but there is no news except bits concerning personal affairs. Practically nothing has leaked out as to the conditions now prevailing in Lithuania. The only Lithuanians receiving UNRRA aid are those outside their country. The suspense for the home front is sickening.

THE ARCHBISHOP STANDS FIRM

The Metropolitan Archbishop of Kaunas and Assistant to the Holy See, Joseph Skvireckas, in his letter to the Catholic Bishops of the world implores intervention for the recovery of national independence. Archbishop Skvireckas writes in his letter:

We solemnly declare before God Almighty and our Saviour, His Son, that the Lithuanians are firmly decided to recover their national and political independence and to re-create a real free state. Lithuanians will never consent to become the Russian colony against which they struggled in the past centuries in order to maintain their existence, culture and Catholic Faith. This is why every Lithuanian rebels against any and all suggestions that he undergo the atrocious yoke of atheistic Soviet Communism.

APPEALS CONTINUE

The spirit expressed by Archbishop Skvireckas sets the tone of the celebrations or commemorations of this coming February 16 here in the United States. The spirited determination of the 60,000 guerrillas in Lithuania proper and the resoluteness of Archbishop Skvireckas will characterize the commemorations this year. Appeals have been sent to the Congress and State Department at least a thousand times during the past years, but on this February 16 there will be other thousands who will call on Congress by way of resolutions.

So long as Lithuania is occupied by Russia, or any other foreign power, there will be a cry for help from the people of a "forgotten nation of Europe."

DIVORCE: SOCIAL ENEMY NO. 1

CLEMENT S. MIHANOVICH

DIVORCE, according to the New York Bar Association, is the nation's No. 1 legal problem. It is also the nation's leading social problem and is rapidly becoming its most cancerous moral problem, reaching a climax in the aftermath of World War II.

Although the population of the U. S. has increased only 300 per cent since the Civil War, the number of divorces has increased over 2,000 per cent and the divorce rate 500 per cent. To give more recent figures, the divorce rate per 1,000 population increased from 0.8 (60,984 divorces) at the turn of the century to 2.0 (264,000 divorces) in 1940.

RECENT FIGURES

In a very recent survey of the nation's thirty largest cities, covering the first ten months of 1945, there were nearly half as many divorces as there were marriages. The survey revealed that 111,000 divorce actions—20,000 more than in the same period in 1944—were taken in these cities within the specified time. In the same time a total of 228,000 marriage licenses were issued. It is interesting to note that Reno (with 6,301 divorces granted) ran far behind Chicago with 16,000; Detroit, 13,000; Houston, Texas, 8,000; and Dallas, 6,500. In New York, where adultery is the only ground for divorce, 1,900 divorce cases passed through the courts. Oklahoma City, Okla., and Dallas, Texas, recorded more divorces than marriages. This is only the beginning, for the peak will not come for at least another year, and by 1965 one half of all U. S. marriages will be broken on the divorce block if these trends continue. These figures, though they seem incredible, do not give a complete picture of the disintegration of the American home. Statisticians tell us there are twice as many desertions and separations as divorces.

To what may we attribute this phenomenal rise in divorce? The reasons and causes are many, ranging from the *Zeitgeist* to pure old-fashioned cussedness: liberalism, individualism, urbanization, small-family system, inadequate preparation for home life, birth control, late or too early and hasty marriages, laxity of divorce laws, disregard for religious and moral dogmas. All may be traced to our generation's failure to develop moral responsibility.

In regard to the present growth of divorce, sociologists, judges, psychologists and social workers like to attribute it to such wartime conditions as: hasty marriages and faster separations; increased earnings of husband and wife; lack of timely aid to ailing marriages before they reach the divorce courts; and breakdown of morals during the war.

Since it is impossible to analyze all the causes of today's divorces, let us look behind two of the outstanding. In the 48 States and the District of Columbia there are at least 72 different grounds for divorce. Some of the most commonly recognized are: adultery, recognized by 47 States (South Carolina has no divorce law); "wilful desertion," grounds in 15 States; "abandonment," in 16; "extreme cruelty," in 20; "extreme cruelty, bodily or mental," in 10; "habitual drunkenness (intemperance)," in 34; "incurable insanity (confinement)," in 13; "conviction of crime (felony)," in 16; "impotence," in 19; "bigamy," in 11; "pregnancy at marriage without husband's knowledge, by another," in 13. One can readily see that there is confusion of terminology, duplication of grounds—and laxity. Two-fifths of all divorces are granted on the varied grounds of cruelty. But cruelty covers

a multitude of sins; for example, adultery and immorality are sometimes camouflaged under this category, as are numerous biological factors in marriage. Although ten per cent of divorces are actually granted on the legal ground of adultery, some divorce lawyers insist that adultery is the real cause in 90 per cent of today's divorces.

The complexity, multiplicity and laxity of divorce laws have been recognized by the general public. Thirty-five per cent of the people polled in a recent survey thought divorce laws were not strict enough, 9 per cent believed them to be too strict, 31 per cent about right and 25 per cent were undecided. As a partial solution to this aspect of the problem, 83 per cent of the people favored a Federal divorce law, according to one of Gallup's recent polls.

CHILDREN AND DIVORCE

The second basic factor in divorce we shall take time to consider is childless marriages. At least 66 per cent of all divorced couples are childless. On the basis of past trends it has been calculated that 73 per cent of all childless couples will end in divorce, but only 8 per cent of those with one or more children. The presence of at least one child "cuts the probability of divorce to one-ninth of what it would be for the childless, and each additional child cuts the probability in half again." Keeping this in mind, the following table (*Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Jan. 1945), a study of pre-war, 1940 non-farm families and the percentage of children, should suggest the future divorce trend:

Number of children	Per cent of Families	Per cent of Children
No child	47	0
1 child	24	20
2 children	15	32
3 or more children (average 3.9 children per family)	14	48

About one-seventh of our families have almost one-half of all children in the non-farm areas.

What is to be done about divorce? This simple question calls for an extremely complex answer—an answer that would involve years of research and volumes of work. But as a partial answer and by way of starting to meet the problem these suggestions are made:

1. Marriage must again be given its original sacred and sacramental status. This job falls upon the shoulders of our clergy and of our schools.
2. Federalization of divorce laws, eventually working toward elimination of grounds for divorce.
3. Establishing of domestic-relations courts where the difficulties of the married could be brought when they are still willing to consider solving their problems—before they enter the divorce court. These may be conducted by civic and religious bodies or both.
4. Special courses—scientifically, sanely and morally devised—in home management and marriage in our schools, adult-education centers, study clubs, premarital study organizations.

5. A strong nationally organized campaign to combat divorce in the same manner that we fight any other evil that faces us. The primary purpose of this campaign should be to revitalize the American home.

These few suggestions should start us on our way and prepare us to meet, some time in the future, the full onslaught of the problem. If nothing is done then, the U. S. may soon enter the first major phase of the moral and national degeneration which characterized the beginning of the fall of earlier civilizations.

REPORT FROM LONDON

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

LONDON, Feb. 5. (By Wireless)—In a sense it is regrettable that the Bevin-Vyshinsky interchanges have been so spectacular. For instance, as a result, the establishment of the eighteen-member Social and Economic Council, under the presidency of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India, had to go unnoticed; yet this body is already at work on a program that will make it the busiest and, in many ways, the most influential organ of the UNO. It is charged with the task of promoting collaboration at economic, social, cultural, humanitarian and educational levels. No one who witnessed these men at work could fail to notice the absence of that tense atmosphere prevailing elsewhere in Church House, perhaps at that very moment. Political pitfalls are at a minimum here.

Another difficult problem that is being worked out quietly and successfully is that of dependent peoples. It does not appear that the trusteeship council will be created at this session of the Assembly; but no effort is being spared to keep alive the pledge of the Charter toward these peoples. As Mr. Dulles said, perhaps with an eye to non-mandates like Indonesia, they are unrepresented here but have a right to be assured that their aspirations are sympathetically regarded.

The Commission on Human Rights, in which religious bodies of the United States took great interest during the San Francisco Conference, is still in the drafting stage. At present the drafters seem to be thinking in terms of a body engaged in formulating proposals or conventions on such matters as an international bill of rights, civil liberties, the status of women, freedom of information, the protection of minorities, the prevention of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion, and any matters considered likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations.

This body should prove to be of very special interest to Catholics, in view of the recent extraordinarily strong letter of Pope Pius XII regarding religious persecution of the Ruthenian Faithful.

The judges of the International Court of Justice will be elected in the last days of the Assembly, but the Court, when it is finally selected and constituted, will meet at the Hague.

Delegates here are frankly surprised at the progress and achievement. Through UNO, the world has been made more aware of the postwar chaos in Europe and other war-torn lands. The plea for further support of UNRRA, voiced by Congressman Sol Bloom, is a symptom of this increased awareness. At the same time that the small nations have been heard complaining that their opinions are not asked by the big Powers, the Security Council has been the surprise of all the western world. It has given some indication of the power of mobilized world opinion.

Powerless to defend democratic ideals until they possessed the democratic instrument of parliamentary debate and decision, until UNO came along, the nations which supported the democratic Christian tradition were in this sense like Samson—shorn of the secret of strength.

The world now has Mr. Bevin to thank for some very healthy precedents in the Council and for depicting to us the democratic processes which are our means of defense; but we also have UNO to thank for giving Mr. Bevin a platform. We now find ourselves with elbow-room; it is our own fault if we don't use it.

LABOR LEGISLATION

ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO there was a sudden strike of elevator operators, porters and maintenance workers in a forty-eight-story Manhattan office building. Without warning of any kind, the men walked off the job at 10:50 a.m. and stayed out for two hours and forty minutes. The minor grievance which led the local union officials to pull the strike was then submitted to arbitration.

In the general strike situation today, this incident was not very important. The stoppage was shortlived and only forty-five strikers were involved. But it illustrated very well why the desks of many Congressmen are piled high with letters demanding laws to curb unions. Thousands of people, many of them simple workers, were inconvenienced by what must have seemed to them an irresponsible and inexcusable strike. Some of them trudged down thirty or forty flights of stairs for lunch. Others simply went without their coffee and rolls. Business and professional men tried to accommodate their clients in a noisy and crowded lobby. From the thirty-second floor, a young, pregnant woman descended to the street and left the building weeping bitterly. Small things, perhaps. But of such stuff are written the restrictive laws which organized labor opposes so bitterly.

This Review has broken many a lance for trade unionism in the United States. We have defended the right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. To the anti-labor chorus which stampeded the House of Representatives into passing the ill-digested Case bill, our voice was not added. From the very beginning we opposed the Smith-Connally Act, and we shall continue to oppose all legislation written in a punitive spirit. These facts are well known.

On the other hand, we have never shared the belief that every law designed to curb abuses in unions or to promote the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes is necessarily anti-labor. When President Truman, in a message to Congress on December 3, suggested the establishment of fact-finding machinery, this Review said editorially:

Although it is highly desirable that the citizens of a country, acting either individually or collectively, settle social and economic problems themselves, the Government has a clear duty to act when its citizens have failed to find the answers to problems which seriously concern the common good. In the present instance—the problem of diminishing the number and intensity of industrial disputes—these conditions for governmental intervention are clearly realized.

While we were not unmindful of labor and management objections to the President's plan, we did not judge them sufficiently strong to nullify "the public's legitimate concern with industrial disputes which affect the national interest."

During the past decade, the number of organized workers in this country has increased from about 2,500,000 to somewhere in the neighborhood of 15,000,000. We rejoice in that growth and we hope that it will continue indefinitely. But this new-found strength of organized labor, which has finally made it possible for workers to bargain on a plane of equality with employers, has begotten problems not clearly foreseen a decade ago. The men who wrote the National Labor Relations Act hoped that the legal recognition of the right to organize would inaugurate an era of industrial peace. This hope has not been realized, and gives no promise of being realized in the immediate future. Meanwhile we are faced with the possibility, and the fact, of industrial warfare on a nation-wide scale. Collective bargaining, which has heretofore been regarded as the purely private concern of labor

and management, is now clearly seen to be a matter of public concern.

We regret that labor leaders, generally speaking, are unwilling, or unable, to accommodate their thinking to this new state of affairs. With a fervor worthy of a better cause, they have opposed every suggestion made during recent years to improve the relations between labor and management and to extirpate known abuses in the unions. Not all of these suggestions have been bad, nor have they all proceeded from the enemies of organized labor. The hour has come, we believe, for labor leadership to reconsider its traditional position on legislation. Some day new legislation will certainly be passed; and it is of the highest importance that it be written by men familiar with industrial relations and sympathetic to the noble aims of organized labor. If it is not, if more Smith-Connally Acts are passed, labor will have largely itself to blame.

OUR PHILIPPINE DEBT

WE HAVE ALL heard much recently of America's obligation to aid the stricken peoples of Europe. Various effective agencies, both public and private, are seeing to it that our awakened sense of responsibility finds practical issue in well organized collections and shipments of food and clothing. We are tempted to sit back, feeling quite proud of ourselves.

But just a moment! If our justice and charity are being properly directed, help ought not to omit those whose most urgent need is coupled with a patent right. If this is not being done, it is evident that we are not sufficiently alive to the needs of our best friends. And it is not being done. It is not being done insofar as—and just as long as—we continue to neglect the Philippines. Whose need could be greater or whose right clearer than the people of the Islands who sustained the full fury of the Japs precisely because in a dark hour they stood with GI Joe, called him brother, poured their blood with his and looked forward with the same confidence to the triumph of a common cause?

The record of our postwar treatment of the Philippines is a shameful disgrace. The temporary civilian relief provided by the U. S. Army ceased on September 1, 1945. Since that time, aside from some slight aid provided by the FEA, they have received nothing from the United States. In their desperation the Filipinos appealed to UNRRA and were granted \$1,000,000 in emergency supplies, though UNRRA has no responsibility for relief in U. S. liberated territory.

The legislation by which the U. S. proposes to discharge a part of its obligation has passed the Senate and is now being considered by the House Insular Affairs Committee. The bill (S-1610), besides provisions for immediate relief, sets aside \$455 million for Government restoration of all destroyed property up to 75 per cent of the damage incurred. However, there is one surprising exception. For destroyed churches the bill provides the sum of \$5 million to cover a loss which for the Catholic Church alone is \$30 million. The exception is surprising because, in all accounts of the glorious Philippine resistance, it is the Faith that is seen formulating the ideals and supplying the energy and fortitude to sustain them. This ought to be reason enough why the churches should be given a consideration equal to that received by coconut-oil and electric-power concerns.

The bill—with the exception noted—represents a belated

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but none the less generous effort on our part to discharge a debt of honor. It should not be delayed longer. The Filipinos are "little people." They lack a well heeled advertising agency to proclaim their desperate plight on billboards and in movies. Perhaps our aid to them may not be as sound an investment, politically, as well placed bundles in other areas of the world. But if we still have to be "sold" on aid to the heroes of Corregidor and Bataan; if we only give for gain, forgetting our true friends, then—God help us—we are through before we begin as a world Power. What we do for the Philippines is as good a test as any of what we shall do for the well being of the world.

CULTURE AND MR. BENTON

GERMANY'S re-education, conjectures *Life* magazine, may soon be in the hands of William Benton, recently appointed United States Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Benton's assignment, according to *Life*, "is, in some not too far-fetched sense, to conquer the world for an idea." The whirling of his furiously rotating life is impressive. Something is really happening when you see a thousand-page memorandum on the philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas prepared for Mr. Benton so he can find out in a hurry what Aquinas is all about; or when he holds a key conference while correcting page-proof, sitting in a barber's chair on the *Twentieth Century Limited*.

If American culture is dished out in such superlative fashion to the Germans, to the French, Belgians or any other Europeans, they, too, will be impressed, but not in the way we are so cheerfully hoping for. They are more apt to be alarmed by our big show of superactivism, for most of them dread having this kind of thing forced down their Old-World throats. They will gape at the whirling and gyrating, but they will not be impressed by American culture as such. They will be wondering what on earth we have to give them, and why we do not appreciate what they offer to us.

Those U. S. Army men who have succeeded in making some sort of successful cultural contacts abroad, sense a downright disgust breeding where admiration was expected. Peculiarly deplorable is the needlessness of such a mistaken approach. It costs the United States or the Army not a cent more to deal with European cultural organizations, and the people who represent them, in a civilized and intelligent fashion. No waste and wear are produced by speaking French to the French, or German to the Germans; and by learning to speak the language of their thought, their cultural and religious traditions and institutions. It is not quantity but quality that counts. Cheap, trivial films, stale news stories, mass-produced slogans are worse than nothing at all.

Our own cause is still more grievously compromised by an inexplicably stupid policy which prevents any communication between responsible persons in the United States and equally responsible, constructively helpful persons and agencies in the religious and cultural field of Germany. A strong protest, in the name of democracy and anti-Nazism, against such a harmful obstacle was recently uttered by Prof. F. A. Hermens, of the University of Notre Dame. Mr. Benton, we trust, will have the good sense to grasp that a more leisurely course in chartered waters will speed him faster to his "conquering" goal than a furious pace which will land the ship of state upon the rocks.

LEGION PROPOSALS

THE NOTION seems to be abroad that peacetime conscription is now a dead issue. Quite the contrary! The issue is all too much alive. And the American Legion is marshaling a new campaign to make all our Johnnies go marching from home again.

Here is how the conscription issue stands at the present moment. Public hearings on the May Bill, calling for a year of compulsory universal military training, were held before the House Military Affairs Committee from November 8 to December 19. Then Congress recessed for the Christmas holidays. It was thought that hearings would be resumed about January 22, but on the 31st Chairman May said there would be no further hearings till a subcommittee had projected an over-all military policy. Now it is announced that hearings will resume on February 18.

Meanwhile the American Legion has thrown a new proposal for compulsory military training into the hopper. Those who fancy that the conscription issue is dead should have been around when the Legion was host to some 250 members of Congress at a banquet in Washington's Statler Hotel on January 25. Senators and Representatives were personally invited by the Legion organization in their respective States, and the State Legion organizations footed the bill. Topping the banquet fare were the speeches delivered by the National Commander of the Legion, John Stelle, and others. And what did the speakers say? That the new Legion proposal would put our brave new world on the path of "painless preparedness" and would answer all the objections of civic, labor, farm, religious and educational opponents of compulsory military training.

The Legion proposal is not a bill; it is a series of propositions for amending the May-Gurney Bill, H.R. 515. Briefly these propositions are the following:

All boys shall be required to take twelve months of military training, or the equivalent, beginning at eighteen years of age or when they graduate from high school.

All will be required to start with a "basic course" of four months, beginning about June 1 each year, in regular camps.

For the remaining eight months of their training, the boys have these choices: 1) join the Army, Navy, Marine Corps or Air Force for a regular enlistment; 2) remain in the training camps for the rest of the twelve-month period; 3) enlist in the National Guard or Naval Reserve and work out the equivalent of eight months of advanced training; 4) if qualified, pursue advanced training in basic sciences and technical subjects in the armed services, service schools, colleges, universities, technical institutes or industry; 5) enroll in college ROTC, NROTC or AROTC courses for four years and at least one summer of field training.

The first and second choices obviously take nothing from the rigors of the May-Gurney Bill. The third choice looks well on paper. The catch is for those many thousands living in smaller towns where a National Guard or Naval Reserve unit will not be at hand. Not only is the fourth choice a vague generalization, but if capable of being put in practice it would mean substituting trade and technical training for real college education. The last choice is worst of all. Only a small minority of colleges have ROTC; to put it in all would cost billions; not to put it in nearly all would nullify the worth of the choice and also unfairly favor the relatively few ROTC colleges.

No, the Legion proposals are *not* "painless preparedness," nor are they an answer to the serious objections raised against the May-Gurney Bill for peacetime conscription.

LITERATURE AND ART

FOLLOW-UP ON WAUGH

HAROLD C. GARDINER

AT THE RISK of being insufferably smug, let me say that there are not a few critics whose faces ought to be somewhat red these days. The symposium of critical judgments on Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*, which was served up in the January 12 issue, might be amplified here, with further samples of how the evaluations have continued, perversely or ignorantly, to miss the point of the book. Even Edmund Wilson, the scholarly critic on the *New Yorker*, whose opinions are generally worth hearing, has, I fear, let a vague and uneasy distaste for what he would probably call the "ecclesiasticism" of the novel blind him to the deeper values it illuminates. Correspondents have sent in to me reviews from papers and journals all over the country, and I see, thus far, no reason to change my charge that Waugh's theme has been either blindly ignored or else rather skittishly evaded.

Something to make me more than ever certain of this and, at the same time, to flatter my ego that my criticism of the book struck nearest to the truth, just last week came to my attention. I pass it on, honestly not to be able to indulge in the deliciously uncharitable luxury of saying "I told you so," but simply to reinforce my position that intelligent and sympathetic criticism of books that touch on eternal verities can be got only from those who first of all know those truths and then can follow their working-out in the intricacies and labyrinths of human nature.

The "something" consists of two paragraphs which Mr. Waugh wrote, and which were carried on the inside cover of the English edition of the novel. They were not included in the American edition—one wonders whether they would have injected any new note of appreciation in the critical chorus had they been included in the edition which reached us. Here is Waugh's "Warning":

When I wrote my first novel, sixteen years ago, my publishers advised me, and I readily agreed, to prefix the warning that it was "meant to be funny." The phrase proved a welcome gift to unsympathetic critics. Now, in a more somber decade, I must provide them with another text and, in honesty to the patrons who have supported me hitherto, state that *Brideshead Revisited* is not meant to be funny. There are passages of buffoonery, but the general theme is at once romantic and eschatological.

It is ambitious, perhaps intolerably presumptuous; nothing less than an attempt to trace the workings of the Divine purpose in a pagan world, in the lives of an English Catholic family, half-paganized themselves, in the world of 1923-1939. The story will be uncongenial alike to those who look back on that pagan world with unalloyed affection, and to those who see it as transitory, insignificant and, already, hopefully passed. Whom, then, can I hope to please? Perhaps those who have the leisure to read a book word by word for the interest of the writer's use of language; perhaps those who look to the future with black foreboding and need more solid comfort than rosy memories. For the latter I have given my hero, and them, if they will allow me, a hope, not, indeed, that anything but disaster lies ahead, but that the human spirit, redeemed, can survive all disasters.

It is a further point, of course, whether Waugh really brings this intention to completion in the book. He may have had the general theme clearly in mind and still have failed to make it live in the development of the story. I do not think that he so failed. But, at any rate, would you have had even the hint of a suspicion that such was his intention, had you shaped your opinion of the book on the evaluations of the great majority of critics? In the face of this clear manifesto (and I suppose that not a few American critics read the book in its English edition), what critical rating could honestly and intelligently find in the book only "a history of decadence," "sardonic satire," everything and anything save the one thing that the book rises to in clear climax, namely, that all disasters, even the insidiously dulling disaster of modern semi-paganism, is vulnerable before the quiet and patient might of God's grace?

QUEBEC LETTER

THIS MONTH EVERYONE is reading *La Fin de la Joie*, by Jacqueline Mabit. It is a tribute to the complexity as well as to the clarity of this poignant novel that nearly everyone attempts to reduce it to a formula, and that very few of the formulae agree. Père Augustin Deslauriers, the Dominican who writes the preface, believes that it represents the conflict between friendship and filial love. To others it is the chaste but plain account of a God-hungry girl who tries to compensate for the want of Faith by a romantic infatuation for a comrade.

Danielle, the girl, had been baptized "... like any one else. But of our Baptism we, alas! retain no memory. This inevitable lacuna in our recollections is perhaps at the root of many crimes." Her First Communion was delayed and, when it came, produced only disappointment: "Because she discerned no savor in the Host, she fancied herself to have lost the Faith she never really had."

These details come rather late in the book, serving to complete a background previously half-divined. When we first meet Dani she is seventeen, student in a strict, but godless, Parisian *Lycée*. Atheism had there attained an almost conventional propriety of demeanor; the non-conformity of those who dared to be even slightly pious was sharply checked: "We are not in the nunnery here, Mademoiselle. Separation of Church and State! Remember the Combes laws."

Dani was not exposed to such a baiting. Already she had abjured all faith, and all moral standards; renounced even the weakening hope of friendship. Alone, unhappy, hard-working, proud, so she resolved to continue to the end. In such a milieu, and in such a state of mind, it is not surprising that she fell in love. It was also, perhaps, implicit in the situation, that the object of her passion should be a classmate, the superb and tender Laure. "*A ces orgueilleuses il fallait des amours orgueilleuses*"—proud lives, proud loves! Danielle had already discovered the truth of a terrible Pauline dictum for herself.

Once she and Laure had come to an understanding, all was bliss. Through the bustle of Montmartre they sauntered as blithely as if those streets had been a meadow, taking the same, instinctive turns, making the same unnecessary halts and unplanned deviations, so perfect was the harmony of their thoughts. Musing soulfully, and for no reason, before a

cobbler's or orthopedist's window, they would burst into sudden, delighted laughter at the incongruity of the objects that met their gaze. And in all this, no thought of sin, no suspicion of disorder. "We have done no wrong. Can it be a crime to love? O spiritual fire—fervor that purifies all!" In fact their passion, the inconvenience of its object apart, was as innocent as it was to prove unhappy.

Even at its ecstatic best, love must be edged by insufficiency. Love, such as Dani's, by its nature, was doomed to be doubly so.

And this was well, for it made her think of God. "*Il faut que nous soyons immortelles!*" she cried. It cannot be that dreams such as ours should die. And again: "How wonderful it would be to believe!" The proud satiety of learning bowed to the hunger of love. "I have traded the *je crois*," she reasoned, "for the *que sais-je?*"

After the season of friendship, separation. Laure went away. She came back calm, with eyes estranged. "*Que voulez-vous?*" she said, in answer to entreaty. "It is not my fault or yours. The *spring* is broken." Naturally, there were no scenes. They were both very intelligent about it. Only Dani went out and tried to drown herself in the Seine.

The rest of the book is the story of her convalescence. Symbolic is her conversation with a man. The man is not in the book for long. But he is there, he is human, he means reorientation. A second symbol: her ailing father—for many years an unbeliever—goes with her for refuge into a church. Thus will she eventually find the way back to health and God.

The narrative from first to last advances with swift and noiseless logic, like the movement of a trim machine. There are natural dialog, striking incident, vivid and discriminating use of words. Economy everywhere. The language is a very modern French, acute, rapid, scientific, indicating close observation.

Americans who remember Rosamond Lehmann's *Dusty Answer* know the question. Only the answer provided is not dusty. Significantly it was no French equivalent to George Meredith, but Solomon who suggested the title. "Mourning taketh hold of the end of joy," says Proverbs 14, 13.

Mlle. Jacqueline Mabit is a Parisian, come to live in Canada with her distinguished author-husband, Pierre Baillergou. The novel is published by Lucien Parizeau, Montreal.

The name of Lucien Parizeau recalls a phenomenon new in Canadian letters. This is the number and variety of our younger publishing houses. Before the war Quebec possessed four well established firms. The publishing world was unadventurous. The number has since increased to twenty-seven. Their total output during the war was fifty million books. Some of these found a market in Quebec, some in France, others in the French Colonies or South America. That the large proportion was intended for home consumption may be seen by this, that the number of French-Canadian bookstores, having multiplied itself by four, now stands at a good eight hundred and fifty-three.

The annual Book Fair for the encouragement of good reading among the students was recently held at Brébeuf College. Desirable books were obtained from local booksellers, graded according to the ages of the students, and sold on the premises at a discount. Between two thousand and three thousand volumes changed hands. Most popular writers: among the very young, Jules Verne; the more mature preferred St. Exupéry, Léon Bloy or Georges Duhamel. Most popular poets: Claudel and Paul Verlaine (*Sagesse*, the second volume.) In a discreetly bilingual magazine section AMERICA was ensconced between two distinguished French-Canadian reviews, *Relations* and *La Revue Dominicaine*.

It used to take time for an idea to traverse the Atlantic. But with the improvement in communications, truth and error are served up piping hot. The new philosophy of Existentialism has not lost power to fascinate the French. A recent number of *Etudes* devoted at least two articles and three reviews to the subject. The plays of Camus and J. P. Sartre are still drawing crowds. And, here, already Pierre Dagenais announces the latter's *Huis Clos* as the coming presentation of his *Equipe*. *Les Compagnons* will produce *Les Mouches* by the same author in the Spring. It is in keeping with the gloomy nature of this philosophy that all the characters in the former play are dead.

Montreal's famous nationalist daily, *Le Devoir*, paid brief homage recently to England's late Honorable Maurice Baring, diplomat, writer, Catholic and "*familier de la vie française*."

Seen in Montreal: the window of an interior-decorator's shop, frivolous and coquettish as a hat-box: paintings severe as an architect's blueprints; trim and primrose-colored drapes; a squat, hind-down-and-knees-in-the-air chair, with elegant lines like a fire-dog—and on the spare upholstery of the seat, radiant and *désinvolte*, a volume from Sheed & Ward, the name *Maritain* on the corner. Is Scholasticism in danger of becoming chic? PATRICK MARY PLUNKETT

EXPECTO RESURRECTIONEM

(Inspired by a picture of the crosses on Iwo Jima)

Beheld through tears these ranging crosses seem to be
Like foam-flecks hooding an aching, brooding deep;
Or white wings sighing off to mystic spaces: waste
Is the Isle of Rock! Illusions for eyes that weep!
But for the stricken heart—ah, never tears must blur
This fact to fancy: this is the fiber-true,
The elemental wood, earth-suckled up to strength,
Splintered to brittle banner of you,
My brothers, who with some star-fumbling pine, or thews
Of cedar, might be shrined in your own stock!
You bruised, unmelting fruit of your sires' delight—the seed
Of tomorrow's sturdy shoot spilled on the rock!

Ah, but hear, what a pulse in the earth,
Brother-beaten and burning and strong!
It's the Flame-Breast of Christ, and the girth
Of the cosmos must swell to its song!
(Oh, He shouts for your souls, and they come
To be snared in His Quintuple Mesh!)
But long aeon on aeon will He drum
Out His Heart through the sod to your flesh,
Till upon the millennial burst
Of the earth, He will thunder you forth,
The swift beauty for whom He's athirst,
Nordic fair and the passionate swarth.
To the glory and glow of your life,
This Retriever Divine, He will hold
Out His arms, when your raptures are rife,
In His Love for the fleet and the bold!

For this is the Man Who spoke in fundamentals;
Who dealt in rocks, in crosses, and in boys;
(Ay, one boy knew the Flame-Breast for a pillow!)
The Man Who stilled the tempest with His Voice!
And so I pray that on that windy dawning
Of earth's last labor with the brave reborn,
That Man may let me skim the curdled ocean
(Of what frail, tenuous peace!) to hear the Horn
Upon some boy-gorged island of the East,
And watch these beauteous young men blink and rise,
More bright than ever once the sun—and I
Shall pity the pallid wonder of the skies!

SISTER MARY STEPHANIE

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BOOKS

BALANCE FOR A HAYEK DIET

FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING. By Barbara Wootton. University of North Carolina Press. \$2.

FOR EVERY HUNDRED PEOPLE who read Hayek's *Road to Serfdom*, either in the original or digest form, probably not one has seen, or even heard of, Barbara Wootton's ably argued rejoinder. This is a pity, since *Freedom under Planning* is just as timely and provocative as the *Road to Serfdom* and every bit as well written. Apparently the same powerful publishing interests which made Hayek's book a best seller decided that this one was not safe and salutary fare for the digest-fed, news-cluttered American mind. I can say this the more freely since my own position is about midway between the *Road to Serfdom* and Miss Wootton's competent rebuttal.

Freedom under Planning is a book about concrete, down-to-the-earth freedoms, and not freedom in general, or in the abstract. Miss Wootton wants to know whether freedom of speech, for instance, or freedom to bargain collectively, or freedom to leave a job or take another is compatible with "the conscious and deliberate choice of economic priorities by some public authority." She wants to know, in other words, whether a planned economy necessarily involves totalitarianism, as Professor Hayek strongly maintains.

That it can involve a loss of the freedoms we prize, she willingly concedes; and she also agrees with Hayek that the critical point is the character of the planners. But whereas the *Road to Serfdom* takes the pessimistic view and argues that the worst always come to the top—as they did in Germany—the present author feels that there is just as good a chance that the planners will be well disposed toward freedom and democracy. And there is always the possibility that the people, through the development of various forms of "grass-roots" democracy, will be able "to plan the planners."

So far as this reviewer is concerned, Miss Wootton has the better of the argument over the freedom of the consumer. In a planned economy—which is not necessarily a Socialist economy, or an economy dominated by public ownership—the average consumer would probably be as free to spend and to save as he is now. Since these are the consumer freedoms which really mean something to people, the author deprecates Professor Hayek's insistence on the "sovereignty" of consumers. She thinks this is a very dubious sovereignty, anyway.

The economic freedom most endangered by planning is no doubt the freedom of the producer, whether he is a worker or an employer. While it is conceivable in a system where economic priorities are deliberately chosen, that workers might retain freedom of movement, it is difficult to see how the institution of collective bargaining as we know it could survive—and this is one of the freedoms most highly prized by American workers. While the author does not consider the problem insoluble, she is quick to admit that economic planning would necessitate some restriction on the freedom of labor and management to agree on wage rates.

It would necessitate also some restriction on the freedom of enterprise, the freedom to go into business and to make and sell whatever you want. Speaking of England, Miss Wootton thinks that this freedom has been vastly exaggerated and concerns only a small number of people anyhow. "The socialist-capitalist controversy is barren," she writes, because it is framed in terms of absolute systems.

Just as every economy in the world is a mixture of plan and no-plan, so is every economy in the world a mixture of the same ingredients—private enterprise, state and municipal enterprise, semi-public corporations and producers and consumer cooperatives, compounded in varying proportions. Realistic discussion must concern itself, not with two extreme alternatives, but with the endless possible quantitative variations of the mixture.

The author apparently favors a mixed economy, and is not convinced that planning would be the death of all freedom of enterprise.

One of the most dangerous parts of Mr. Hayek's thesis

is his belief that planning for the common good is impossible because people cannot agree on "values." Miss Wootton does an effective job on this anarchic nonsense.

Freedom under Planning is a frankly controversial book, and no one familiar with Catholic social thought, which stresses the principle of subsidiarity, will accept its central thesis. But for readers who have been mesmerized by the *Road to Serfdom*, it can serve as a useful antidote.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

RIGHT DIRECTIONS IN CRITICISM

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. *By the Kenyon Critics*. New Directions. \$1.50.

CENTENARY TRIBUTES to Hopkins are still appearing. What is perhaps the most significant of them, W. H. Gardner's *Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic Tradition* (London, Secker and Warburg, 1944), unfortunately has not as yet been published in this country and is already out of print.

With the exception of an introductory chapter by Austin Warren and a study from *Scrutiny*, by F. R. Leavis, the eight essays which comprise the present volume appeared in issues of the *Kenyon Review*. Most of them are studies in the various traditions which influenced Hopkins, and they are an index to the tendency of contemporary criticism which sees Hopkins in relation to or as revolting from the traditions in which he lived.

As might be expected, not all the chapters are of equal value. Robert Lowell's "Hopkins' Sanctity," for instance, is rather undeveloped. Austin Warren contributes two studies, the first a carefully balanced biographical chapter, and the second "The Instress of Inscape" in which he emphasizes the multiplicity of traditions and movements which converge in Hopkins. Less well proportioned is the thesis of Josephine Miles' "The Sweet and Lovely Language," that Hopkins essentially belonged to the poet-painters: Spenser, Milton, Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites.

Rather neatly supplementing one another are Arthur Mize-ner's "Victorian Hopkins" and F. R. Leavis' "Metaphysical Isolation," the first stressing the Victorian elements in Hopkins and the second the artistic, intellectual and religious isolation of the poet-priest.

The longest and one of the most brilliant chapters is "Sprung Rhythm," by Harold Whitehall, who points out that Hopkins belonged to the tradition of Old and Middle English alliterative poets whose work was meant to be recited and that their dipodic verse-structure demanded functional oversteering supplied by alliteration, internal rhyme, assonance; and that these elements, along with syntactical ellipses and new word-compounds, became in Hopkins an integral and functional part of his much-discussed sprung rhythm.

A study of *The Windhover*, entitled "The Analogical Mirrors," is contributed by Marshall McLuhan, who, contending that Hopkins is an analogist and sacramentalist rather than a mystic, employs the three traditional mirrors (physical, moral and divine) of God's grandeur to explain the levels of meaning in this poem.

The volume is indicative of the strides Hopkins criticism has taken in the past decade. Increasing attention to the published letters and notebooks in relation to his poetry has yielded important contributions, and the book is refreshingly free from the kind of criticism which used to consider Hopkins a frustrated Jesuit.

JOHN PICK

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Dr. Baker's new book is one which, in the opinion of this reviewer, should be read by both scientist and non-scientist alike, for, in his own words, it is addressed to all who have "the courage and independence to think for themselves and to question the validity of popular opinion."

Today, with five bills before the Senate, all of which are concerned with Federal aid to science, and with the UNO contemplating supranational legislation regarding military applications of scientific discoveries, it would be well to pause and consider the objectives as well as the sources of much of the propaganda for both national and international control of science.

Dr. Baker, who is lecturer in Zoology in Oxford University, is convinced that there is a dangerous trend towards a materialistic totalitarianism on the part of the more vocal members of the body scientific, even in countries where democracy has more than the worship of lip service, and he presents convincing evidence that there is a campaign on foot to get scientists to ally themselves with the party or parties that favor, and promise to introduce, the policy of central planning under state control.

It is Baker's purpose to show that such central planning and control will do more to inhibit than to accelerate true scientific research and discovery. The author establishes his case through four well documented chapters, ending with a fifth, in which he gives his own views on the duties of scientists to society.

Starting with precise definitions of his terms, the objectives (material and immaterial) of science are analyzed, and then the results achieved under the regimes permitting freedom of inquiry are compared with those obtained where science is state controlled and directed.

The reaction to his chapter "Science under Totalitarianism" on the part of F. W. Preston, who reviews the book in the January *Scientific Monthly*, is one of the best possible confirmations of the validity of the views expressed by Baker on pages 65 and 97 concerning the equivalent tabu placed on all public criticism of anything connected with the USSR.

When Hitler is quoted as saying: "The idea of a free and unfettered science is absurd," of course no objection to the use of the quotation is raised—nor should there be. But when the Russian Academician T. D. Lysenko is quoted as saying: "In order to get a particular result, one must want to get exactly that result; if you want to get a particular result, you will get it"—then the author is charged with singing a "hymn of hate."

Fortunately, not all of our thinking scientists are afflicted with the blind spot that permits no vision of Soviet defects. Two letters in *Science*, one from Karl Sax of Harvard (Vol. 102, No. 2660, p. 649—December 21, 1945) and another from P. C. Koller of the Royal Cancer Hospital, London (Vol. 103, No. 2664, p. 86—January 18, 1946), both ask the pertinent question: "What has happened to Dr. N. I. Vavilov?" This Russian is one of the world's greatest geneticists, whose views were opposed by the above-quoted Lysenko as not being in accord with Point Seven of the five-year plan for science in the Soviet. This point reads: "The provision of the historical and social theory for combating the ideas of capitalism. . . . Genetics, and the teachings of Mendel [a Catholic] and H. T. Morgan [an American] are false and can be defended only by lies, primarily because they are the perversions of 'bourgeois scientists' and gravely inimical to dialectical materialism." It is not surprising that Vavilov, after defending such "metaphysical doctrine" should have disappeared, especially as he had been elected president of the International Genetics Congress in 1939. Since that time he has not been seen or heard from.

"Free Science in Russia marches on!"

JOHN S. O'CONNOR

MIND THE MASS. By Rev. Joseph A. Dunne. Benziger Bros. \$2.50

IN *THE MASS*, Father Dunne's prior book, he dealt much with the facts and externals of the Holy Sacrifice. In *Mind the Mass* he meditates on the inner spirit of its Ordinary Prayers. These he presents as energizing blueprints for speedily developing a most stable and charitable soul-life. Thus, in Part I—*The Mass of the Catechumens*—his theme may be stated: "To individuals the Mass unfailingly supplies spiritual stamina." In Part II—*The Mass of the Faith-*

ful—"Of individuals the Mass makes one mutually helpful and aggressive Mystical Body." And throughout he emphasizes: "And all this 'in a world drifting towards chaos and barbarism.'"

To make convenient meditation-units, Father Dunney assigns one short chapter to each prayer, divides each chapter into two or three related topics. Colloquies, the essence of meditation, he stimulates by powerful Psalm- and Scripture-quotations and by occasional moving apostrophes to God.

Also, unlike *The Mass*, this manual is principally for adults, and more particularly for persons of some experience with spiritual literature, certainly for readers (and meditators) of more than average education and taste. These will find it positive, encouraging, elevating. Its ensemble of quotations from the Canon of the Mass, from Scripture, from Augustine, Gregory, Bede, Cyril, Chrysostom and Ephraim, will inspire minds tempered to the sublime literature of the Church to pray with a deepened faith and apostolicity during "the greatest Action that can be on earth."

EDWARD V. WARREN, S.J.

CHALLENGE AT CHANGSHA. By Paul Hughes. The Macmillan Co. \$2.50

"THE REAL CHALLENGE at Changsha was whether uncouth, discourteous men could impose their rough ways upon an essentially quiet and ritualistic civilization. . . . The Chinese proved at Changsha that there was bravery without bravado. They showed the world that gentlemen could slay."

Such is the theme of this novel, which, although it unravels no plot, dramatically treats of the reactions of flesh-and-blood characters embroiled in the third battle of Changsha, around Christmas, 1942. Two kinds of warfare were going on. One was the Chinese "magnetic warfare," which consisted in attracting, encircling and crushing the forces of the enemy. The other was a psychological one, beyond the reach of steel. It involved a handful of Americans, several fanatic Japanese soldiers, and a few Chinese families whose sons fought and died for their fatherland.

Thus, old man Ho could not reconcile the modern ways of the West with his own ancient and revered cult of the East. Only when he lost his Western-educated son in the battle did he find in *chungyung* (the middle way) the key to reconciliation. The same riddle perplexed Ching the farmer. And what did he do about it? He went outside his house and found comfort in his cow.

The tired, senile General Nakahora, because of his defeat at Changsha, committed harakiri. For the same reason a Stanford-trained Japanese pilot chose death by not letting go his parachute cord when he was free to bail out safely. And of the Americans, Johnny Mason, the doctor who came to China "to save the human race," could not save himself from despair.

From these characters (and there are many more of them in the story) the reader can catch moments of poignant feeling and roguish humor, moments of searching for the meaning of life and death. At the end, the solution seems to be found not in the Bible but in the sayings of Confucius.

This otherwise excellent novel, however, is marred by smudges—chief of which is a long and minute account of a rape—that cannot be justified by any sound canon of art.

GEORGE B. WONG

JEROME G. KERWIN is Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, Director of the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions, and faculty adviser to Catholic students at the University.

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THEATRE

THE MAGNIFICENT YANKEE. This production, presented in *The Royale* by Arthur Hopkins, can be called a play only by stretching the term to the limit of its elasticity. It is, rather, a narrative in dialog on the theme of gracious living, as exemplified by the renowned Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. Emmet Lavery, the author, set out to dramatize the life of the jurist from his appointment to the Supreme Court until the eve of his demise, a span covering some three decades of American history which Holmes helped to shape. The result of Mr. Lavery's sweat is a story that is humorous, poignant and everlastingly interesting; but not the least bit dramatic.

Holmes was a magnificent American. He was a stalwart man, physically—"handsome brute" in current feminine vernacular—with a walrus moustache which, alone, was sufficient to make him an ornament of the High Court, dwarfing the lip foliage of his colleague, Taft, and challenging the hirsute supremacy of Justice Hughes' beard. While his grand moustache augmented the physical impressiveness of the Court, his clear reasoning colored its decisions, even when the majority was against him. The majority of the Court was against him so often that "Holmes dissents" became a standing sub-caption in Monday-evening and Tuesday-morning newspapers. When Mr. Dooley said "the Supreme Court follows the election returns" he was not thinking of Justice Holmes.

While he is remembered as "The Great Dissenter," Holmes certainly was not a negative man. He was a believer, albeit naturalistic, with a profound faith in his country and an almost passionate devotion to the integrity of the law. He believed that a law (though his concept of law was inadequate) should mean what it says, not what he or anybody else wanted it to say. He was contemptuous of legal double talk. There must have been times when he was locked in furious struggle with his brethren of the Court, and moments when he questioned his judgment, wondering if it was really true that everybody on the bench except himself was out of step with right thinking.

Those struggles and soul-searchings, which would have changed *The Magnificent Yankee* from narrative to drama, are absent from Mr. Lavery's script. What he gives is a fireside portrait of the man behind the Justice. It is an interesting portrait, full-bodied and vivid, but a study of a man at ease rather than a picture of a man in action.

Louis Calhern, as the Justice, is perfect. Dorothy Gish, as Mrs. Holmes, is tender and as gently commanding as wisteria in May. Minor roles are ably interpreted. The set, by Woodman Thompson, is a comfortable living-room, and the direction, by Mr. Hopkins, is flawless. Which adds up to a good evening in the theatre.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

PARADE

PREDICTION IS SAFE when one is on thoroughly certain ground. . . . Long-range prediction, however, no matter how safe, rarely receives such quick verification as did the following, a condensed form of this column in the issue of June 18, 1938.

SCENE I. Year 1938 A.D., Berlin. The Chancellor's office. Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler and other top Nazis are discussing plans for speeding up the demise of the Catholic Church. . . . Behind their chairs stand the shades of Nero, Diocletian, Trajan, Julian the Apostate.

Goebbels: The persecution is progressing satisfactorily.

Hitler: Fine, fine.

Himmler: It should not take more than a few years to kill this Church.

Nero, Trajan, Diocletian, Julian (voices unheard by the conferees): Ha, ha, that's what we thought.

Hitler: How is the campaign against the Catholic schools?

Goebbels: Splendid. We are intimidating Catholic parents, suppressing their schools. Soon the Church will begin to gasp and die.

Goebbels: The secret police are throwing priests into concentration camps on the slightest pretext.

Diocletian: I threw them to the lions, and what good did it do?

FILMS

SHOCK. Psychiatry and, incidentally, psychiatrists, continue to claim a large part of Hollywood's attention these days. Here is a story built around a subject that should manage to keep an audience in a state of high tension. It may not please, however, the doctors who see it, for the leading character is none other than a psychiatrist who commits murder and then acts in a questionable manner towards a patient. Vincent Price, as the physician, kills his wife because of a sirenish nurse (Lynn Bari) and then finds that the only witness to the murder has been put in his hands for treatment. Naturally, spell-binding suspense piles up as the doctor uses drugs to keep his shock victim in a state of coma, and employs hypnosis to control her memory. Then, in a terrifying climax, the man is confronted with the necessity of committing a second murder to conceal his original crime. The principals manage to inject enough horror and menace into their roles. This cannot be described as light or relaxing diversion. It is a tense piece that may prove a bit strong for any but hardy melodrama lovers. Adults who lean to thrillers will find this passable. (*Twentieth Century-Fox*)

THE VIRGINIAN. Owen Wister's famous story of frontier life has been adapted to celluloid once again and, though its trappings are handsome and tasteful, the film suffers from overslow pace. Of course, the tale is dated, and probably only the very young will be unfamiliar with the incidents as they unfold (what American has not read about the plainsman who demanded "When you call me that, smile"?). Joel McCrea, in the title role, has the part of the taciturn cowboy whose righteous but harsh method of meting out justice shocks the Eastern ideas of the schoolteacher (Barbara Britton) from Vermont. Sonny Tufts is the hero's close pal and puts his friend to a supreme test when he turns rustler as a member of the band of badmen led by Brian Donlevy. All these parts, and others—particularly those played by Fay Bainter, Tom Tully and Henry O'Neill—are realistically and sympathetically depicted. Lovely shots of the outdoors, faithful period sets and costumes are among the picture's assets. All the family should be moderately satisfied with this Western. (*Paramount*)

TERROR BY NIGHT. This exploit of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson is dull and uninteresting. About the only deviation from the usual jewel-thief plot is that all the action takes place on a train. This does little but slow up the pace with endless shots of the train in motion. Holmes, traveling as guardian of a noblewoman and her fabulous diamond, does not forestall a murder but does trap the killer. Harmless, though mediocre family entertainment. (*Universal*)

MARY SHERIDAN

Himmler: We are gradually driving Christ out of Germany.

(The shades look at each other, smile cynically.)

SCENE II. Year, 2338 A.D. Future persecutors discussing plans to destroy the Catholic Church. Behind their chairs stand the shades of Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler, Nero, Diocletian, Trajan, Julian the Apostate.

First Future Persecutor: We are closing down the Catholic schools, arresting the priests. This will gradually destroy the Church.

Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler: That's what we thought.

Second Future Persecutor: Soon Christ will be driven from the country.

(Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler, Nero, Trajan, Diocletian, Julian look knowingly at each other, smile cynically.)

In 1945, only seven years after the above appeared, the shades of Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler joined the long line of those who did everything in their power to crush the Church. . . . And they all failed. . . . Today, the group, now reinforced by top Nazis, stands behind the chairs of anti-Catholic conspirators still living. . . . Tomorrow, the conspirators still on earth will themselves merge with the shades and learn what all the others eventually learned—that the Nazarene is always the final Conqueror. JOHN A. POOMEY

CORRESPONDENCE

LIMITED-DIVIDEND HOUSING

EDITOR: During the housing shortage after World War I Governor Alfred E. Smith appointed a committee representing various bodies interested in the building industry to recommend a practical program for encouraging investment in the construction of apartments at moderate rentals. The committee's recommendations were enacted into laws authorizing the formation of limited-dividend corporations. These corporations are under State supervision. They may not pay more than 5 per cent or 6 per cent on investments nor charge more than \$10 and \$11 per room per month. In exchange for these restrictions the corporations are granted certain tax exemptions and the right of eminent domain.

Under these laws a number of large projects were built by private initiative and by the State. Apparently these ventures have been beneficial, as they have not been mentioned in front-page scandal. If the advantages of investment in limited-dividend corporations were given adequate publicity, these might be more numerous. They are better investments than many temperamental stocks on the market. Possibly the laws could be improved in the light of experience and subsequent developments if the Governor sees fit to appoint an altruistic committee to study them and to make the necessary recommendations.

It is a long leap from past attempts to solve the housing problem, without jeopardizing liberty, to the proposal of the Omnibus Housing bill to centralize control of the construction industries in the Federal Government.

New York, N. Y.

HENRY V. MORAN

WHO IS MY NEIGHBOR?

EDITOR: In his letter in *AMERICA* for January 26, Mr. Robert L. Otto says: "It has always seemed to me odd that the so-called duty of feeding starving Europe, rehabilitating the churches that seldom were attended by the male population and paying for the so-called damage our troops did in liberating such festering nations—that all this is usually called for in the name of Christian Charity."

To me, in turn, it seems odd that a Catholic who "wants eternal security and is willing to undergo whatever rigors are necessary to attain it" should not recollect precisely what those rigors are. Our Lord has told us explicitly what will determine our eternal security: "I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you covered me. . . . As long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me." We stand or fall by that test. He dwells even in empty churches and "festering nations."

Woodstock, Md.

WILLIAM M. DAVISH, S.J.

SHARE YOUR READING WEALTH

EDITOR: During the month of February Catholic readers are frequently reminded of the vital apostolate of the Catholic press. The good wrought the Church by *AMERICA* and other Catholic periodicals is simply beyond estimate—circulation figures indicating nothing more than the number of copies printed. This fact is strikingly illustrated by the share-your-reading-wealth campaign now being conducted by students at Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

The seminarians have made it their purpose to further the influence of Catholic literature by seeing that veterans' convalescent centers, hospitals, prisons, missions and various charitable institutions are gratuitously supplied with current Catholic publications. This is accomplished through an effective and economical remailing service. Catholics desiring to share their reading wealth contact the seminarians, listing the magazines and periodicals to which they subscribe. They are immediately supplied with the address of the institution in which that particular type of reading matter is in greatest demand and will be best appreciated. The subscribers themselves, at regular intervals, mail their contributions directly to the institution which has been suggested. The whole

process involves very little time, trouble or expense; it is a phase of Catholic Action open to all.

Thus far the seminarians have been able to meet all requests, numerous Catholics having already made use of their service, but an ever-growing demand necessitates their seeking an even greater source of supply. *AMERICA* readers willing to cooperate in this remailing service, or desiring further information concerning the plan, may write to Kenrick Remailng Service, located at 7800 Kenrick Rd., St. Louis 19, Missouri.

St. Louis, Mo.

DOUGLAS LE BRETON
Kenrick Remailng Service

EDUCATORS FOR JAPAN

EDITOR: In your editorial of January 19, in connection with the appointment of 30 American educators to help democratize Japanese education, you commented that three wealthy foundations—the Rockefeller, the Carnegie and the Guggenheim—are represented by their respective directors. I wish to call your attention to the fact that also represented thereon is the Committee for Economic Development. The latter is a triumvirate which includes the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce; the membership of the three organizations is more or less interlocking.

Among the leading members of the C.E.D. can be found Robert Gordon Sproul, President since 1930 of the University of California; Beardsley Ruml, economic advisor for the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations and Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. The latter institution is graced by First Vice-President Allen Sproul, brother of Gordon Sproul.

Evidently modern democratic education specifies economic, political and social philosophy. Is it possible that our Catholic educators' emphasis on moral philosophy is outdated?

New York, N. Y.

EDWARD A. KILEY
Captain—44th Precinct

OLD-AGE PENSIONS

EDITOR: I've just read your weekly Comments and came to the topic "Old Age Pensions." I should like to paint another side of the picture. Since the law has been enacted, I have written out between fifty and sixty baptismal (birth) records for parties who intended to apply for the pension. I do not remember a single one who deserved to be thus supported. When young and earning they spent every dollar they made in drink and debauchery, and now ask those who saved to support them. As the one who with a flourish lighted his cigar with a ten-dollar bill.

In handing them their certificates, I told them of my reaction. They accepted the reprimand together with the certificate with a smile.

That has been my experience so far and the promise of a pension after years of free living will just help men to forget about thrift—at least persons of that kind. But how to distinguish between the worthy and unworthy?

Bloomer, Wis.

REV. M. HAAS

CORRECTION

EDITOR: *Re: Underscorings*—January 26, 1946.

Don't look now, but the Diocese of Denver was raised to the rank of an Archdiocese on November 15, 1941.

Denver, Colo.

JOS. A. CRAVEN

INFORMATION

NOTE: In view of the number of inquiries received regarding Catholic papers and books for India, our readers may wish to make a note of the fact that they should be addressed to: J. Stephen Narayan, Saint Xavier's, Patna, India.—EDITOR.

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THE WORD

AN ANTHOLOGY OF SEVERAL sad but instructive volumes could be compiled from the utterances of those who either contented themselves with passively predicting the downfall of the Catholic Church or actively announced themselves as the irresistible agents of its dissolution. In his admirable little book, *The Holiness in the Church*, explicitly written to confute the charge that the Church was dead or moribund, Father Plus lists several of the more modern prophets. All of them, according to the limitations of genius and courage, echo the empty vaunt of Voltaire who, confessedly weary of hearing that twelve men were sufficient to found the Church, modestly declared: "I shall have pleasure in proving that one man is enough to cause its disruption." In less genteel idiom, the late Adolf Hitler revealed himself as a lineal descendant not only of Martin Luther but Diocletian and Julian the Apostate as well.

One would think that even a superficial reading of history would give these pontiffs of negation pause. Macaulay could scarcely be suspected of Roman leanings but, impressed by inescapable fact, he wrote one of the most eloquent tributes in English to the Catholic Church. Taine, a professed free thinker, was also unable to close his eye to the spectacularly obvious truth that the Church is here to stay; and he hailed it as the greatest formative factor in the making of Europe. None the less there will always be men hacking away, with their axes of glass, at the iron roots of the Church's towering tree, oblivious of the prophetic parable in the Gospel for the Sixth Sunday after Epiphany.

That comparison of the mustard seed, as also the companion parable of the leaven in the mass, illustrate Christ's practice of presenting sublime truths in homespun similitudes. Proverbial among His hearers, as a symbol of the small and insignificant, was the mustard seed. It was one of the tiniest the Jewish farmer planted, yet it flowered into a tree ten or twelve feet high. And in the contrast of the minute seed and the sturdy tree was the perfect parallel for the Kingdom of Christ, humbly proclaimed in Palestine, destined to spread mightily to "the very ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8).

Out of conquered and relatively unimportant Palestine was to stem the growth which would overshadow the world. Out beyond, as Christ spoke, was imperial Rome with her restless and ruthless armies, her prowling ships, her swollen coffers, her impenetrable contempt for all peoples, particularly the Jews. There was Greece, illuminated by her art, her thinkers and poets; there were the vast reaches of the North with its savage tribes, and slumbering beyond mysterious oceans lay undiscovered continents. Christ's most enthusiastic listener that day could not have realized the impact of His parable or have foreseen that His Kingdom would displace the "eternal" Rome of Horace and Virgil, that Paul would preach where Plato had held forth. But the mighty tree has reached out its branches to Antioch, Rome, Stiklestad, Bochum, Tyburn, Ossernenon, Nagasaki. Its branches, said Augustine, were Peter, Paul . . . "and all the Apostles and Martyrs of the Saviour."

The tree, which signifies the external expansion of the Kingdom, and the leaven, indicative of its secret, internal influence and vitality, both remind us that we are living members of a living organism. There is the unavoidable implication, therefore, of the constant striving, effort, growth which characterize life, an implicit condemnation of spiritual inertia and dry-rot.

In the Epistle of the Mass, taken from Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians, he salutes his converts for properly apprehending the spirit and message of these parables. Thessalonica, commanding located on the road across the Grecian peninsula, had become a center of spiritual force because of the faith which its Christians radiated. "For from you the word of the Lord has been spread abroad, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith in God has gone forth."

That was one of the great apostolic influences of the primitive Church, the irrefutable sermon of example preached by the faithful Christians. In our own day, that same apostolate is desperately needed that men may come to know the strength and protective shade of the great tree which grew from the mustard seed.

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY

AMERICA'S FEBRUARY BOOK-LOG

CATHOLIC BOOK DEALERS

Reporting the returns sent by the Catholic Book dealers from all sections of the country on the ten books having the best sale during the current month.

Popularity of the ten books listed below is estimated by points, ten for mention in first place, nine for mention in second, and so on. The frequency with which a book is mentioned, as well as its relative position, are both indicated—the frequency in the "totals" columns, the relative position by the boxed numerals.

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Washington, D. C.—Catholic Library										
Westminster, Md.—Newman Bookshop										
Wheeling, W. Va.—Church Supplies Co.										
Wichita—Catholic Action Bookshop										
Wilmington—Diocesan Library										
Winnipeg—F. J. Tenkin Co.										
TOTALS										

TEN BEST SELLING BOOKS

- I. The World, the Flesh and Father Smith—Marshall
- II. Wartime Mission in Spain—Hayes
- III. John Henry Newman—Moody
- IV. Personality and Successful Living—Magner
- V. This Bread—Buchanan
- VI. Splendor of the Rosary—Ward
- VII. This Night Called Day—Edwards
- VIII. Behold Your King—Bauer
- IX. Brideshead Revisited—Waugh
- X. New Testament—Knox

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
7	1		9			3			
	3	6	5	4	7	1	8	2	10
3						1		4	10
1	3	5	8				2	6	10
			7						
1	4	2	7		8		3		
	3						5	1	
2		8	4		6				
1			10	9					
	1	6				3	5		10
2					5	10			
					7	9			
1		5	4	3	2				
1			2	3	7	10	5		9
1	4		5	9		3		2	
3	8	2	9	10	4			7	
6	1		8			5		2	
8	3	9	10			5	1		7
8	5			7	6		4		
3			10	7	1				2
4		8	9	7	5	1			2
	1	5	6	3	7				
6	4	2		1			3		7
1	2						4		
5	4				9	2	3	1	
1	2	6	8	4	5		3		9
8	2	4					3	1	
10	4	1	9	3	6		7		8
	1	8	10			5		2	7
	1	4	2			3		5	
3	1				6	5			
3		1	7		6			10	4
3		2	8	5	1	10			4
	2	1		6		3		5	4
6	2		4		9	7	1		
6			1						
	1		4		6	8			
	1				3				
3			1	4					
1	5	3	7		2	10			4
10		7	3	1					
5		3	9	2		7	1		
		5	2			3		1	
9		10	8	7					
32	26	24	31	19	22	22	17	13	16

BOOKS OF LASTING VALUE

The E. J. McDevitt Company of Detroit selects as its choice of the ten currently available books which have proved over the years to be of most lasting value, the books listed below. The roster of reporting stores gives the ten books that are popular month by month; this individual monthly report spots books of permanent interest.

The asterisk indicates that the book has appeared in the Book-Log's monthly report.

1. St. Therese of Lisieux
T. N. Taylor
P. J. Kennedy & Sons
2. St. Theresa of Avila*
William T. Walsh
Bruce Publishing Co.
3. Soul of the Apostolate
Dom J. B. Chautard
M. H. Gill
4. The Robe*
Lloyd Douglas
Houghton Mifflin
5. The Mass of Brother Michel*
Michael Kent
Bruce Publishing Co.
6. The Long Road Home
John Moody
Macmillan Co.
7. The Masterful Monk
Owen F. Dudley
Longmans, Green
8. Splendor of Sorrow
Edward Doherty
Sheed and Ward
9. The Shadow on the Earth
Owen F. Dudley
Longmans, Green
10. Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola
Fr. Elder Mullan, S.J.
P. J. Kennedy & Sons

The Catholic Book-of-the-Month Club's February choice:

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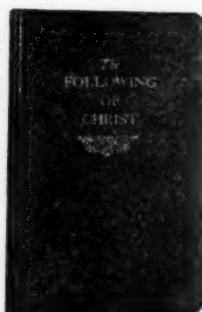
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